

none of them would, and that a great big hoax is being perpetrated on the American people by the President.

So let me start by saying to all of you if you do not have to cut anything because you have jimmied up the numbers, you can run across America beating up on the Republican budget. You can say I did not do that. I do not have to do that. You can say I wish to go slower. I do not want to change the programs that fast.

Let me remind you. The only way you can do that and have a balanced budget is to phony up the numbers.

Let me give you a little history. In the Reagan era, there became a rather famous asterisk which I think my friend, Senator SIMON, recalls, the Stockman asterisk. My memory is not precise; it was either \$24 billion or \$34 billion. It was sort of we don't know how we are going to get that last amount, but let's just put an asterisk there and say we will get it.

Now, friends, the President of the United States has a \$475 billion asterisk. And it says I changed what the Congressional Budget Office says, the authenticator of the budget. In whose name and under whose power did the Congressional Budget Office become the authenticator of the budget? None other than the President of the United States.

Two years ago, in a State of the Union Message, he said the CBO was normally more conservative in what is really going to happen and closer to right. Why is it, I say to my good friend, Senator SIMON, who is advocating a balanced budget, who came down here talking about a constitutional amendment, why is it that the President of the United States decided 1 year after he admonished us to abandon the Congressional Budget Office and do what? Use his own numbers. You know he has experts. The Congressional Budget Office is the expert for everybody. He has an OMB. He has economic advisers, I say to my friend from Tennessee, and what he decided to do was to let them make the predictions for the future—make the predictions for the future.

The best I can tell you, fellow Senators and Americans, it is tough to explain, but I looked around for an explanation of what the President has done, and the best I could find is the former Congressional Budget Office Director. If he is not a Democrat, he is an independent but, indeed, he is independent and here is what he said about how this administration got to the balanced budget that they run across America now and say we are not like those bad Republicans because we do not have to do all those things.

Listen to a quote from the former Director, a very simple quote:

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That means if the world record was 6 foot 6 on the high jump, and the Repub-

licans had jumped it, the President comes along and what does he do? He lowers the bar and then jumps it. So he puts it down to 6 feet and he jumps it, and he said, lo and behold, I set the same record you did.

If the bar is the balanced budget and the President decides with his own experts to lower the bar and jump it, what does that tell us? Mr. President and fellow Senators and Americans, it tells us that the Congressional Budget Office is warning us that if you use the President's bar, the lowered bar, you will never get to balance.

I do not want to take a lot of time talking about the manipulation, the smoke and mirrors. In fact, it is so much smoke and mirrors I was trying to find a new word or new words to describe it, but I cannot. Somebody suggested the fog machine instead of smoke and mirrors. But let me just give you an example of what has happened.

I say to Senator SIMON, had your balanced budget constitutional amendment passed and the Senate had come together and said it is law now, let us have a balanced budget in 7 years, and we said let us listen to the Congressional Budget Office on how we should do it, and we did it, along comes the President and he says, "Whoa there. You do not have to do all that." In fact, he said in his second budget you can get there by doing \$475 billion less. Got it. He lowered the bar \$475 billion.

Let me tell you just precisely how he did that. I do not know if in his negotiations he lowered the bar a little bit at a time or just waited around until his own estimators lowered it all the way, but here is what he did.

First, Medicare spending will come down over 7 years by \$55 billion. Got it. Fifth-five billion dollars less in Medicare savings, I say to the occupant of the chair. But he did not change anything about the program. He did not say this or that or the other. He just said it is going to cost less.

I ask for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. He merely said we have decided that Medicare will cost \$55 billion less. Put it down. Take the bar down \$55 billion. He did not change anything, did not reform anything, did not make it more solvent excepting that they came up with new numbers on what it would cost and disagreed with the Congressional Budget Office, which we were told to follow, which we think is closer to right over the last 14 years, especially long-term figures, much more accurate than Democrat or Republican executive branch estimates.

Medicare, the bar has been taken down by \$55 billion. Now he comes along and says, do not worry so much about Medicaid because it, too, is going to come down, I say to the Senator from Illinois, on its own. You do not have to change anything. It is going to

come down \$68 billion. So he brought the bar down \$68 billion.

He has not done anything yet, has not changed the program, has not reformed an entitlement, has not cut a single program of any type but now that is \$68 billion. And then he looked out at the farm subsidy program, other pensions and the welfare programs and he said oh, even if we do not change anything, they are going to come down \$85 billion.

Now the bar has come down \$55 billion in Medicare without changing anything, \$68 billion in Medicaid by wishing and hoping that it will not cost so much, \$85 billion from farm pensions and others, and we are not there yet. Hold on—\$70 billion from lower interest rates. And then, believe it or not, \$175 billion because he assumes better economic assumptions, rosy economic assumptions. They will say they are small. The differences with the Congress are small. That one is \$175 billion without changing anything.

When you add them up, \$475 billion that we had to work at, to change programs, to say entitlements are coming down instead of going up, the President of the United States found them like a bird's nest on the ground by putting his team together and saying it really is not going to cost all that much to run our Government. So why do we not just change the numbers?

Now, let me suggest to everyone who takes the floor and says to the Republicans, "You should not be doing this, you should not be doing that," I ask them, are you following the President's blueprint in suggesting that we do not have to do that? If you are, you will be startled, and so will the American people, because if we did it your way, there would be no balanced budget come time that we commit it.

I ask unanimous consent for 1 additional minute. I will wrap it up now.

Mr. SIMON. I will be generous with my colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Senator.

Let me say this is part of the reason that the U.S. Congressional Budget Office has said the President's budget never comes into balance.

But I think it is more serious than that. It is the real reason that the President can stop over here and there picking the issues and say, "The Republicans are cutting too much. We ought not have to do that. We can take a longer time to get it," when, as a matter of fact, if we did it his way, we would be inventing 475 billion dollars' worth of reductions that the experts say are probably not going to happen and running around and saying, "It doesn't matter which budget, they are both in balance." I submit that is not the case.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the remaining time is under the control of the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Iowa.